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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this workshop module are to help teachers recognize the power of their expectations to influence the behavior and perception of students, to identify commonly held expectations for the sexes and the self-fulfilling consequences of these expectations, and to examine the inappropriateness of differential expectations based on sex. Group activities that will heighten awareness of sex bias are described. Selected background readings from articles on sex role stereotyping, common myths about the sexes, economic factors in sex stereotyping, and discrimination against women and minority groups are provided. Suggestions are made for activities that teachers may use with their students to increase their sensitivity to the problems inherent in sex bias. (JD)

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TEACHER SKILL GUIDE FOR COMBATTING SEXISM

Module #1

How Expectations Influence Behavior and Perception

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Women's Educational Equity Act Program
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Office of Education

SP 016 011

TEACHER SKILL GUIDE FOR COMBATTING SEXISM

Module #1

How Expectations Influence Behavior and Perception

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MAY 9 1980

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MODULE #1: HOW EXPECTATIONS INFLUENCE BEHAVIOR AND PERCEPTION

OBJECTIVES

*To help teachers recognize the power of their expectations to influence the behavior and perception of students

*To identify commonly held expectations for females and for males, and the differences between these sets of expectations

*To examine the self-fulfilling consequences of perpetuating differential expectations based on sex

*To examine the inappropriateness of differential expectations based on sex in light of the demands of modern life

SUGGESTED TIMING

	Activity	Suggested Time
I.	Introduction to the topic of expectations	10 minutes
II.	Expectation poker simulation	45 minutes
III.	Differential expectations of girls and boys	25 minutes
IV.	Reading and discussion period	30 minutes

WORKSHOP DESIGN

Activity I. Introduction to the topic of expectations

Objectives

*To define expectations as an interpersonal phenomenon

A. To the leader:

1. Present a brief definition of expectations as an interpersonal phenomenon:
   a. Expectations are the preconceived beliefs we hold concerning the things that other people will be able to do: not what we "want" them to do, but rather what we "expect" of them.
   b. Expectations are a powerful set of phenomena; if we want to make them work for us, we need to recognize and understand them.
2. Give each participant a copy of Handout I, "She Wants to Be President" (see page 5).
   a. Ask participants to read the handout to themselves and react to each statement quickly, recording their first impressions.
3. Ask participants to form pairs, and share some of the thoughts and feelings they had as they worked through the handout "She Wants to Be President."

Activity II. Expectations poker simulation

Objective

*To have participants experience, in dramatic fashion, the power and cumulative effect of interpersonal expectations in shaping behavior and perception

A. To the leader:

1. This simulation requires some preparation of materials prior to the workshop. During the activity, each participant will be wearing a headband with an expectation message written across it. Headbands can be made out of strips of construction paper. They should fit around participants' foreheads and be secured in back with a piece of tape. The following is a list of expectation messages you can use:
   a. You think I am a troublemaker.
   b. You think I am very smart.
   c. You think I am very dumb.
   d. You think I am smart but lazy.
   e. You think I am dumb but try hard.
   f. You think I never pay attention.
   g. You think I hate your guts.
   h. You think I am always testing you.
   i. You think I am a perpetual pain.
   j. You think I am too passive.
   k. You think I am too aggressive.
   l. You think I am terrific.
   m. You think I am a "blah" person.
   n. You think I am a sly person.
   o. You think I am out to "get" you.
   p. You think I am a rebellious person.
   q. You think I am a lazy person.
   r. You think I am a hyperactive person.
   s. You think I have a short attention span.
   t. You think I am a manipulator.
   u. You think I can do no wrong.
   v. You think I am scatterbrained.
   w. You think I am perfect.
2. As the activity is about to begin, explain that the group will be experiencing a simulation that will allow each of them to feel what it's like to be treated consistently in accordance with what others expect them to be. In the simulation they will be interacting with several other persons who will read the expectation message and react to them as though they truly believed the message. Ask participants not to concentrate on guessing what is on their band, but to get into the simulation.
3. Here's how the simulation works:
   a. Fasten a headband around each participant's forehead with tape. Tell participants not to look at or ask each other what their headbands say.
   b. Divide participants into two equal groups: A's and B's.
   c. B's form an inner circle, facing out, with the messages on their headbands clearly showing.
   d. A's form an outer circle, with the messages on their headbands turned so they are not visible.
   e. Each A person reads the message of the B person whom s/he is facing. Each A person is instructed to treat the B person as if s/he truly expected the B person to match her/his headband message.

f. Each A-B pair interacts as if they were meeting one another in a social situation. During the interaction, A's subtly convey (through actions, words, facial expressions) their expectations of B people.

g. After 15 seconds, the A circle rotates clockwise, so that new A-B pairs are formed. New pairs interact (as in f).

h. At each 15-second interval, the A circle rotates and new pairs interact. This continues for six rotations.

i. People in Group A now turn their headbands so that their messages are visible, and B people turn their headbands so that their messages are hidden.

j. As described above, B-A pairs interact according to the expectation message on the A person's headband. Every 15 seconds, the outer circle rotates counterclockwise, so that a series of new pairs are formed. This continues for six rotations.

4. Ask all participants to freeze. Ask them to close their eyes and consider how they are feeling (in particular, did they notice changes in their behaviors and feelings as people treated them according to their expectation message?)
5. Distribute Handout II, "Expectation Poker Processing Sheet" (page 6). Without any conversations, have participants respond to Part I of the handout.
6. Divide participants into discussion groups of four or five members. Direct them to discuss the questions that form Part II of the Processing Sheet handout.
7. Arrange participants into one large group. Ask for volunteers to share new insights and learnings.

Activity III. Differential expectations of girls and boys

Objective

*To have participants focus on the sources and consequences of differential expectations for girls and boys in this society

A. To the leader:

1. Present an introductory statement such as the following:

"Research indicates that expectations can act as self-fulfilling prophesies. In other words, by expecting someone to behave in a certain way, we treat that person in a way that reinforces exactly what we expected to find in the first place. This cyclical process is one that spirals over time; however, teachers can be conscious enough of it to break the cycle.

"Our society holds certain expectations about girls and boys. Sometimes these expectations are the same; sometimes they are different. I want you to think about the things we have all learned that society expects from girls and boys."

2. Give all participants a copy of Handout III, "Differential Expectations for Girls and Boys" (page 7). Ask each participant to work through the handout.
3. Ask participants to form a large group.

4. Pose the following two questions to the group. Record responses on a large composite profile sheet.
   a. If a teacher truly expects girls to be weak, how might the teacher convey this expectation in the classroom?
   b. If a teacher truly expects boys to feel less and be less emotional than girls, how might the teacher convey this expectation in the classroom?
5. Discuss any new insights or learnings.

Activity IV. Reading and discussion period

Objective

*To expose participants to a variety of facts illustrating the societal consequences of differential sex role expectations

A. To the leader:
1. Present the following instruction:

"As a final activity today, I want you to read some factual information. These facts are striking examples of the consequences of society's differential scripts for females and males: what the society expects to happen does happen. You'll see that one of the ways in which our society conveys its differential expectations is through the creation of cultural myths.

"As a member of our society, you'll discover that some of the information applies directly to you (you'll be a "statistic") while some of it does not apply to you. Also, be alert to any facts that strike you as particularly significant whether or not they apply to you in a direct fashion. Check the publication date of each excerpt and ask youself, 'How true is this information today?'"

2. Distribute the Background Readings for this module (see pages 8-38) to all participants.
3. Ask that particpants read through these materials, making notes about their reactions.
4. Divide participants into small groups of four or five members to discuss the readings. Groups should focus their discussions around these guide questions:
   a. Did you find examples of facts that are true for you personally? Which ones?
   b. Did you find examples of facts that seem particularly striking or surprising? Which ones? What were your reactions to such facts?
5. Have all participants convene in one large group. Ask volunteers to summarize their small group's discussion.

Module #1: Handout I

SHE WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT[1]

As you read each of the following situations, be aware of your own feelings and thoughts, ambivalent or otherwise. Jot them down as you read for easy recall later.

At seven years she says she intends to be President;

at ten she wants to try out for the school's soccer team;

at 12 she wants to be an engineer;

at 14 she wants to take shop class;

at 15 she is asking about union apprenticeships;

at 16 she wants to go to MIT and plans to be president of General Motors; and

at 17 she says she has decided to go to business school so she can get a job right away and work and save money so she can get married because that is what her boyfriend wants.

Now, read each of the situations again, but use "he" when it says "she." Again, be aware of your feelings and thoughts.

[1]From Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard, A Handbook for Workshops on Sex Equality in Education, Washington, D.C.: Sex Equality in Guidance Opportunities Project of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1976.

Module #1: Handout II

EXPECTATION POKER PROCESSING SHEET

Part I

Jot down your answers to these questions:

*By the time six different people had interacted with you, how were you feeling about yourself?

*Did you come to anticipate that people would treat you in certain ways? Explain briefly:

*By the time you had interacted with six different people, do you think you were behaving in ways that are unusual for you? Explain briefly:

Part II

Small group discussion questions:

*What do you think your headband says? Why? How could you tell? How did you feel during the game? How did you behave? How did you come to feel about yourself?

*Has this simulation given you any insights about the power or dynamics of interpersonal expectations?

*How do we learn the expectations society holds for us as females/males? In other words, how does our society convey its sex role expectations?

Module #1: Handout III

DIFFERENTIAL EXPECTATIONS FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

Part I

Complete each of the following sentence stubs as many times as you can.

Society has taught us that boys should _____

Society has taught us that girls should _____

Boys can (are allowed to) _____

Girls can (are allowed to) _____

It's alright for boys, but not girls to _____

It's alright for girls, but not boys to _____

Which of these social scripts do you consider wrong or unfair? Why?

Part II

Complete each of the following sentence stubs ten times.

Boys are _____

Girls are _____

Part III

Read through each of your responses to Part II, and transform the wording into an expectation statement. For example, "Boys are strong" will be transformed into "I expect boys to be strong."

Which of your expectation statements seem to ring true?

BACKGROUND READINGS

I. "Sex Role Stereotyping: Why is it an issue?" from Gloria Golden and Lisa Hunder, In All Fairness: A Handbook on Sex Role Bias in Schools (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1974), pp. 7-13.

II. "The Myth and the Reality" by the Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974, 0-550-115).

III. Excerpts from Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hillard, A Handbook for Workshops on Sex Equality in Education (Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1976), pp. 3-4, 12-13.

IV. "Factual and Self-Fulfilling Myths" from Warren Farrell, The Liberated Man (New York: Random House, 1976), pp. 161-174.

I. SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING: WHY IS IT AN ISSUE?*

Gloria Golden and Lisa Hunter

Just as for centuries human beings have been pigeonholed according to color, similarly they have been characterized according to sex: man, the producer; woman, the dependent. We are living in a time when this pigeonhole system is being openly questioned. As consciousness has grown, it has become apparent that one area where elimination of sex stereotyping must be initiated is in the classroom.

The films and this handbook on sex role stereotyping are directed to the teacher and to the prospective teacher concerned with helping children fulfill their potential roles in life. The agent for exposing that potential can be the teacher. But the teacher, no matter how "liberated," has two rows to hoe if she or he is to succeed in that exposure: the child's background and the teacher's own background.

A child, by the time school life begins, has spent five years at home where often dolls are designated for girls, trucks and guns for boys. Roles have been set by adults who want boys to be "all boy" and girls to be "feminine." Parents and others may telegraph alarm if children don't meet these expectations and the result may be children coming to the classroom silently confused. A teacher, conscientious about overcoming sexism in the classroom, soon realizes that a child's experiences may be in direct conflict with what she or he is trying to foster: a child for whom all kinds of possibilities exist.

Often, too, that potential is not realized because all of us have our own sets and pass them on. As one educational researcher points out, "... ironically, teachers, former victims of sex typing in the socialization process, become its new transmitters." (Frazier and Sadker, 1973)

Just how does this transmission take place? Look at a survey of junior high school teachers who were asked to list the characteristics of good male and good female students. (Kemer, 1965) Here are the adjectives they used:

Adjectives Describing Good Female Students	*Adjectives Describing Good Male Students*
appreciative	active
calm	adventurous
conscientious	aggressive
considerate	assertive
cooperative	curious
mannerly	energetic
poised	enterprising
sensitive	frank
dependable	independent
efficient	inventive
mature	
obliging	
thorough	

In all likelihood, these teachers--presumably both women and men--believed themselves "conscientious," "sensitive" and "mature," as well as "curious," "frank" and "inventive" when they approached this study. But, apparently, they were not seeing their students in the same light in their classrooms and counseling chambers. Their own behavior toward their students placed these students in categories or pigeonholes which could inhibit psychological, social, economic and political growth for a lifetime.

Fortunately, in this nation awareness is growing that sexism is detrimental to both sexes, psychologically as well as economically. More and more, one sees articles decrying the fact that women have been shunted into menial jobs, have had their economic rights ignored and even legislated away, and that men are under pressures detrimental to their health and sanity.

*From Gloria Golden and Lisa Hunter, In All Fairness: A Handbook on Sex Role Bias in Schools, pp. 7-13.

Politically, until recent times women have been invisible and have had little hand in influencing their individual and collective rights, an irony in a nation that commends itself as a democracy. But times are changing and many women are no longer willing to accept second class citizenship. Nor need they. Introduction of the Equal Rights Amendment, which has been ratified by 33 of the 38 requisite state legislatures, inspired the formation of political action groups, including the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971. Its purpose: to heighten the political awareness of women, who concording to 1970 Census figures comparing median wages of men and women, women professional and technical workers received about $4,000 a year less than men; "non-farm managers," officials and proprietors, over $5,000 less; clerical workers, about $3,000 less; sales workers, nearly $6,000 less; "operatives," $3,000 less. Hopefully, with the recently enacted legislation, some of these figures will change.

In the meantime, these statistics do not always find their way into the offices of school counselors. In their study of sex discrimination in schools, the Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women (1972) noted: "Many counselors and teachers lack information and sensitivity to changing life patterns of women to widening vocational and higher educational opportunities resulting from changing attitudes and equal legislation."

Generally, too, girls develop a poor opinion of themselves and of other girls' abilities and have a far higher opinion of men and their abilities. Girls' low self-esteem increases rather than declines with schooling—it appears to be nurtured by it, in fact. Girls are given short shrift when it comes to sports, physical education and extracurricular activities. The Citizen's Advisory Council on the Status of Women, which observed shortcomings in counseling, expressed the belief that "short-changing of girls in physical education and sports deprives them of the opportunity to establish life-time habits of exercise which lead to a high level of continuing good health in adult life."

A male physical education teacher expresses this view: "Sports and male chauvinism go hand-in-hand in our culture. The myths of universal male aggressiveness, male dominance, male superiority are daily confirmed in the practice of sports in the schools. In most schools, boys' physical education is given preference over girls' physical education in space, time, and scheduling. Most important of all, male physical education teachers laugh their way through sex education, teaching a double standard so blatant it would anger the editor of a provincial newspaper's most conservative women's page." (Vonesor, 1972)

If women are pressured out of sports, boys are pressured into sports; the same physical education teacher asks: "How many male sexual identities are threatened and destroyed because young people do not have the athletic ability to live up to the model of the strong-man-athlete-hero-victor held up by the schools and by society as a sexual ideal?" (Vonesor, 1972)

In extracurricular activities, girls are not as evident on debating and chess teams, school newspapers, safety patrols, etc. They are limited in their choice of instruments for the school band. They can answer the phone in the school office. Boys may be excluded from activities in the fine arts—dance, poetry, etc. And so sexism flourishes, obviously as noted above, and more often, in subtle ways in the classroom and on the playing fields.

Sex role bias can appear in the classroom in a teacher's seating arrangements, choice of "helpers," casual remarks to students, less casual remarks in lectures. It exists in the non-discussed "dress codes." Long, careful observation is required before solutions can be achieved. Teachers who look

stitute 53 per cent of the voting population. State and regional caucuses have also formed and for the first time, in the 1972 political conventions, women were represented in state delegations in "reasonable" ratio to their presence in the population.

Coming closer to home—to schools—Title IX of the Higher Education Act of 1972 prohibits discrimination because of sex in educational programs ranging from preschools to universities that receive federal funding. This legislation is expected to have important effects on discrimination in hiring of teachers, granting of leave for pregnant teachers, physical education, sex education, shop and home economics classes, extracurricular activities, and university admissions and hiring. Guidelines for Title IX have been proposed by the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

As of July 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was changed to provide coverage for professional and administrative employees in private and public preschools, elementary and secondary schools and on up. The Equal Opportunity Act of 1972 extends the enforcement of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to employees of public and private educational facilities. This means it is no longer legal to discriminate in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin—or sex.

Obviously, if it has taken this long to legislate against discrimination in employment, it's going to take even longer to redirect our thinking in many other spheres. If, legally, sex discrimination cannot exist on the employment scene, *what is being done to prepare young children and adolescents for the employment opportunities now open to all?*

Statistics show that while more boys than girls drop out of high schools, more men than women finish college. In high school, many girls lose their momentum academically. Marriage is still held up as the goal for young women to seek; future employment is considered less important. Boys are encouraged to study a wide range of careers; girls are limited to as few as four. Yet, statistics show that offering girls limited opportunities does not correspond with the facts of life in the U.S.: that most women, sooner or later, must work—not merely to supplement income but to earn income as the heads of households.

Consider these simple facts: nine out of ten females will work at some time in their lives. Seventy-five per cent of the nation's "menial" jobs—housekeeping, dressmaking, bookkeeping, typing, waitressing, etc. are held by women—by women who have to work. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of families increased only 14 per cent. The number of families headed by men with incomes below the poverty line ($3,700 for a family of four) was reduced by one-half, while the number of poor families headed by women remained virtually unchanged. More than five million families in the U.S. are headed by women and nearly two million of these families are on welfare. (Berkeley Unified School District Women's Task Force, 1972)

Not only do women find themselves more often in the menial jobs, they also find themselves getting lower wages for them. Women who aspire to the professions also receive far lower salaries than men. For example, ac-

around their schools at children, other teachers, administrators and curriculum materials for signs of sex stereotyping really must begin with examining themselves. As one woman teacher has written:

> "Before we attempt to change children's behavior or our behavior with them, we have to examine how we feel about ourselves as women or men. Can we teach girls to respect themselves and take themselves seriously if we, as women, do not have the same attitudes toward ourselves?" (MacEwan, 1972)

Nor can men help boys to become flexible, sensitive people if they cannot share decision making or express their emotions.

There are signs that teachers in the United States are already embarked on this kind of self-examination. Take "A Chauvinistic Index for Education" that one publication for educators printed. (Van Vuuren, 1972) The Index brings out some of the day-to-day remarks that teachers casually—and traditionally—make and some of the assignments they give. The questions:

1. Do you generally ask boys to do heavy work and perform executive duties in the classroom, and girls to do light work and secretarial chores?

2a. Do you pity girls who are unable or unwilling to be fashionable or call special attention to those who are fashionable?

2b. Do you pity boys who are unable or unwilling to be athletic or call special attention to those who are athletic?

3. Do you react negatively to boys who have long hair or to girls who wear slacks?

4. Do you plan different activities, or different adaptations of the same activity, for boys and for girls?

5. Do your lessons include more exciting role models for boys than for girls? (Do you stereotype women as housewives, mothers, or workers in menial or supportive positions?)

6. Do you use slang terms such as sissy, fag, tomboy, chick, etc.?

7. Do you say, "Boys shouldn't hit girls," "Ladies before gentlemen," "Ladies don't talk that way?"

8. Do you expect girls to be more verbal and artistic than boys, or boys to be more mathematical and scientific than girls?

9. Do you feel it is more important to help boys sort out career options than it is to help girls?

10. Do you tend to discipline girls verbally and leniently, but boys physically and strictly?

These questions fall generally into three categories: physical sex role stereotyping ("boys are strong, girls are weak"), social-emotional sex role stereotyping ("boys should be boys, girls should be feminine" and "boys don't cry, girls do cry") and intellectual-career sex role stereotyping ("boys

can fix things, girls assist" and "boys are doctors, girls are nurses"). In the last category there is room for another observation that may bring twinges at the adult level: "Women are teachers, men are principals." In California, for example, almost 67 per cent of the public elementary and secondary school teachers are women, yet men hold 82 per cent of the elementary principalships, 96 per cent of the junior high pricipalships and 98.5 per cent of the senior high principalships. (Berkeley Unified School District Women's Task Force, 1972)

Thus, the fact that the majority of U.S. teachers are women and the majority of U.S. school administrators are men drives home a point: Teachers themselves have been victims of a sexist system. Women have been passed over often for administrative roles; men interested in entering the classroom have been told that it is "female territory." Sexism has affected teachers' lives economically and psychologically. This fact alone may provide good reason for teachers to look at the way they regard the potential of their students. Must children be stymied in the same way? If the answer is no, take a look at the doll corner. Any boys playing there? Take a look at the workbench. Any girls hammering there? Better yet, take a look at the books the students are reading. Must clever Dick always triumph over weak Jane?

We realize a teacher can't combat sexism alone. Children are in school up to six hours a day; the rest of the time they are in the outside world, playing with friends, watching television, reading on their own, interacting with their families. These experiences enter the school door with them. If boys don't allow girls to play baseball on the sandlot, they're not going to change their minds (without gentle coercion) on the school playground. If boys are chased out of the family kitchen, they're not going to feel encouraged to try cooking in school. Fathers and mothers express anxiety about masculinity and femininity in their children, relatives and friends chime in; television commercials promote false images of "manhood" (the Marlboro Man) and of "womanhood" ("my bleach is better than yours"). The variety of ethnic and religious admonitions regarding sex stereotyping figure in children's behavior as well.

As the Resources chapter in this handbook indicates, some assistance is available to teachers concerned with eliminating sex role stereotyping from their classrooms. Books, films and reports are being written on the subject. Some organizations have become national headquarters for curricula (elementary, secondary, higher education) that challenge sex role stereotyping. Local organizations, such as chapters of the National Organization of Women (NOW), school district women's task forces, and parents' groups, are holding or sponsoring workshops. Concern is growing. The number of tools is increasing.

Obviously, changing one's own attitude, the attitudes of parents, other teachers and administrators and, to top it all, revising curricula are enormous tasks. Monday morning can be the start but the distance to run is long and largely uncharted. Much that needs to be known is not known; researchers in sex role stereotyping admit that. But there is sufficient information available to get going and there is, certainly, sufficient reason. Ideally, educators have maintained, the purpose of school is to help children discover the best within themselves and to begin using it. Sexism cripples that worthy intention. Gradual effort to destroy stereotyping, which has been destructive to boys and girls, men and women, will help accomplish it.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS ADMINISTRATION
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II. THE MYTH AND THE REALITY
Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration

The Myth	The Reality
A woman's place is in the home.	Homemaking in itself is no longer a full-time job for most people. Goods and services formerly produced in the home are now commercially available; laborsaving devices have lightened or eliminated much work around the home. Today more than half of all women between 18 and 64 years of age are in the labor force, where they are making a substantial contribution to the Nation's economy. Studies show that 9 out of 10 girls will work outside the home at some time in their lives.
Women aren't seriously attached to the labor force; they work only for extra pocket money.	Of the nearly 34 million women in the labor force in March 1973, nearly half were working because of pressing economic need. They were either single, widowed, divorced, or separated or had husbands whose incomes were less than $3,000 a year. Another 4.7 million had husbands with incomes between $3,000 and $7,000.[1]
Women are out ill more than male workers; they cost the company more.	A recent Public Health Service study shows little difference in the absentee rate due to illness or injury: 5.6 days a year for women compared with 5.2 for men.

[1] The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimate for a low standard of living for an urban family of four was $7,386 in autumn 1972. This estimate is for a family consisting of an employed husband aged 38, a wife not employed outside the home, an 8-year-old girl, and a 13-year-old boy.

Women don't work as long or as regularly as their male coworkers; their training is costly—and largely wasted.	A declining number of women leave work for marriage and children. But even among those who do leave, a majority return when their children are in school. Even with a break in employment, the average woman worker has a worklife expectancy of 25 years as compared with 43 years for the average male worker. The single woman averages 45 years in the labor force. Studies on labor turnover indicate that net differences for men and women are generally small. In manufacturing industries the 1968 rates of accessions per 100 employees were 4.4 for men and 5.3 for women; the respective separation rates were 4.4 and 5.2.
Married women take jobs away from men; in fact, they ought to quit those jobs they now hold.	There were 19.8 million married women (husbands present) in the labor force in March 1973; the number of unemployed men was 2.5 million. If all the married women stayed home and unemployed men were placed in their jobs, there would be 17.3 million unfilled jobs. Moreover, most unemployed men do not have the education or the skill to qualify for many of the jobs held by women, such as secretaries, teachers, and nurses.
Women should stick to "women's jobs" and shouldn't complete for "men's jobs."	Job requirements, with extremely rare exceptions, are unrelated to sex. Tradition rather than job content has led to labeling certain jobs as women's and others as men's. In measuring 22 inherent aptitudes and knowledge areas, a research laboratory found that there is no sex difference in 14, women excel in 6, and men excel in 2.

Women don't want responsibility on the job; they don't want promotions or job changes which add to their load.	Relatively few women have been offered positions of responsibility. But when given these opportunities, women, like men, do cope with job responsibilities in addition to personal or family responsibilities. In 1973, 4.7 million women held professional and technical jobs, another 1.6 million worked as nonfarm managers and administrators. Many others held supervisory jobs at all levels in offices and factories.
The employment of mothers leads to juvenile delinquency.	Studies show that many factors must be considered when seeking the causes of juvenile delinquency. Whether or not a mother is employed does not appear to be a determining factor. These studies indicate that it is the quality of a mother's care rather than the time consumed in such care which is of major significance.
Men don't like to work for women supervisors.	Most men who complain about women supervisors have never worked for a woman. In one study where at least three-fourths of both the male and female respondents (all executives) had worked with women managers, their evaluation of women in management was favorable. On the other hand, the study showed a traditional/cultural bias among those who reacted unfavorably to women as managers. In another survey in which 41 percent of the reporting firms indicated that they hired women executives, none rated their performance as unsatisfactory; 50 percent rated them adequate; 42 percent rated them the same as their predecessors; and 8 percent rated them better than their predecessors.

May 1974 (revised)

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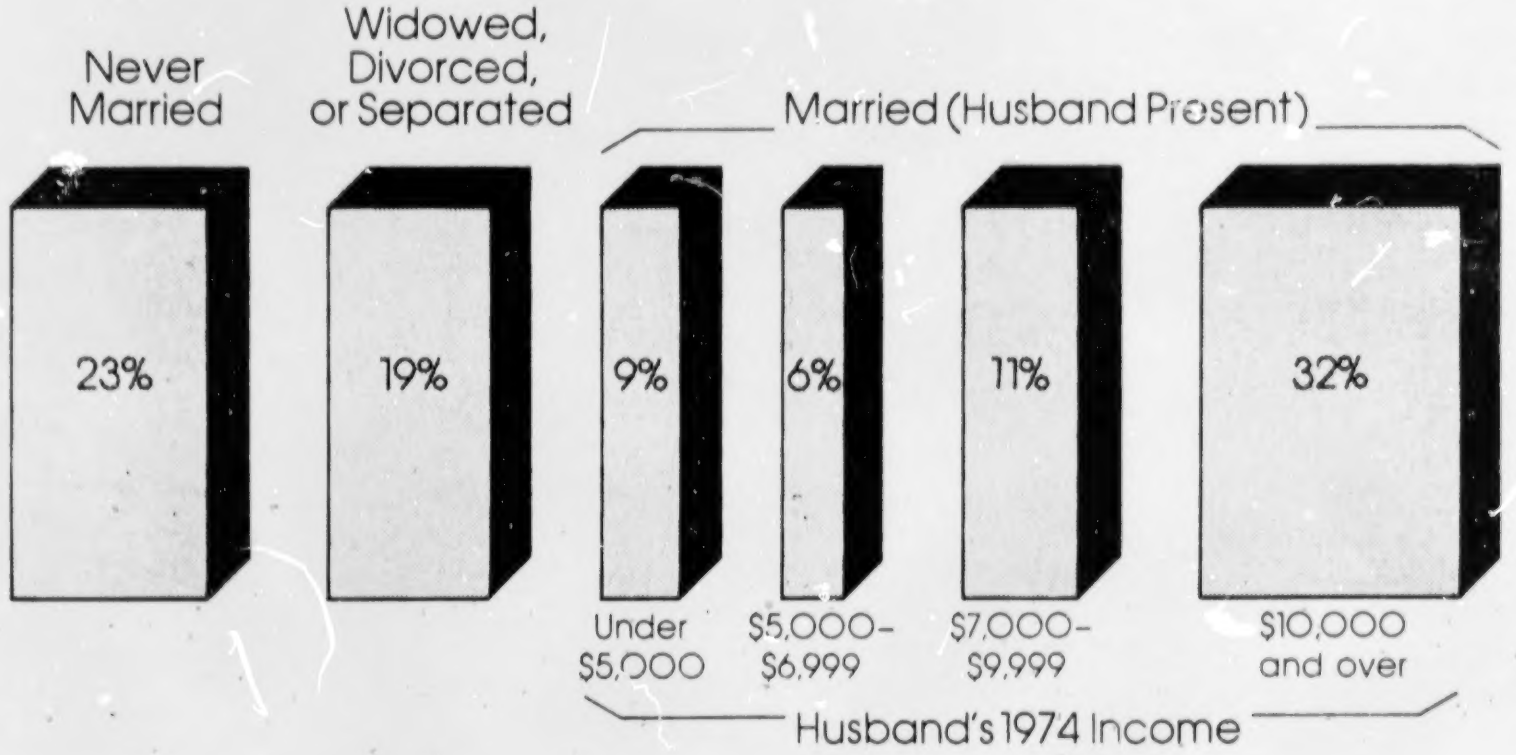
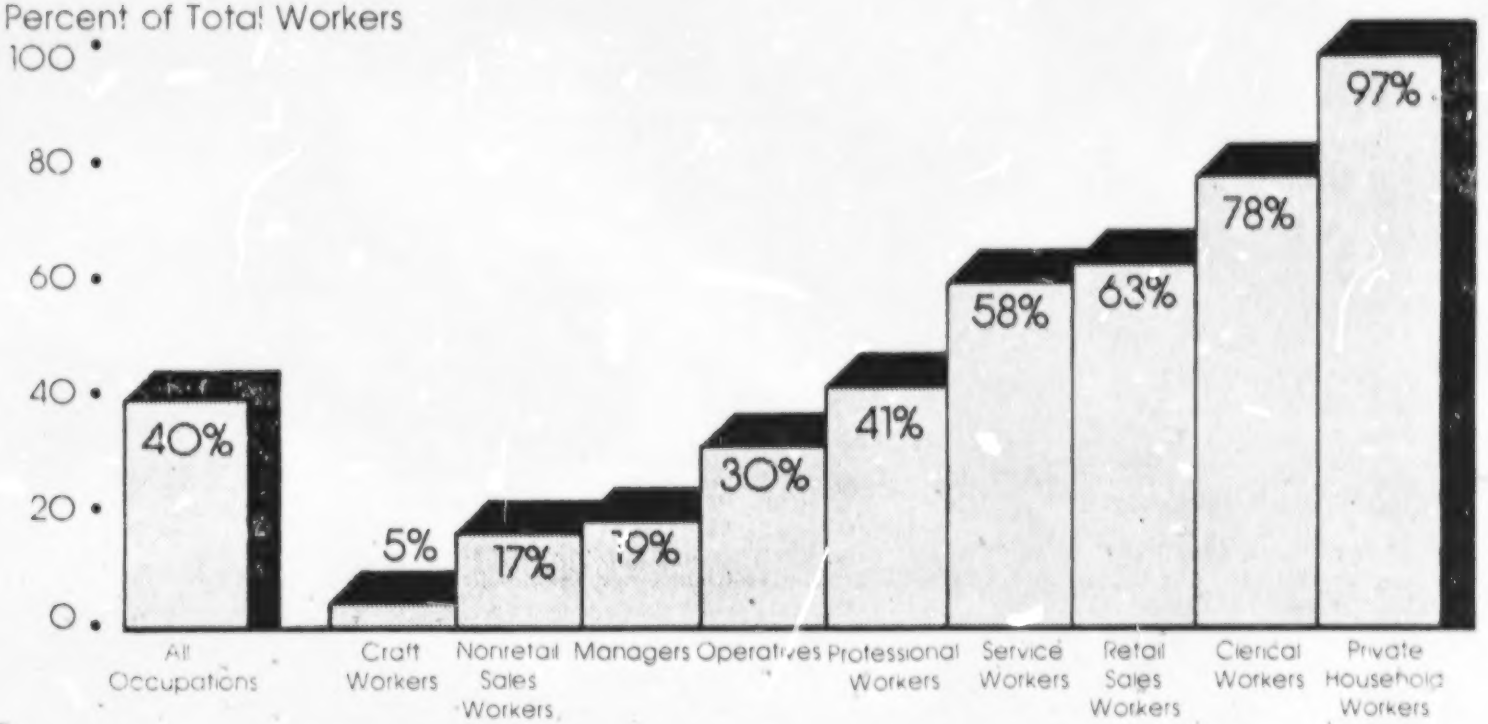
Most Women Work Because of Economic Need

(Women In The Labor Force, By Marital Status, March 1975)



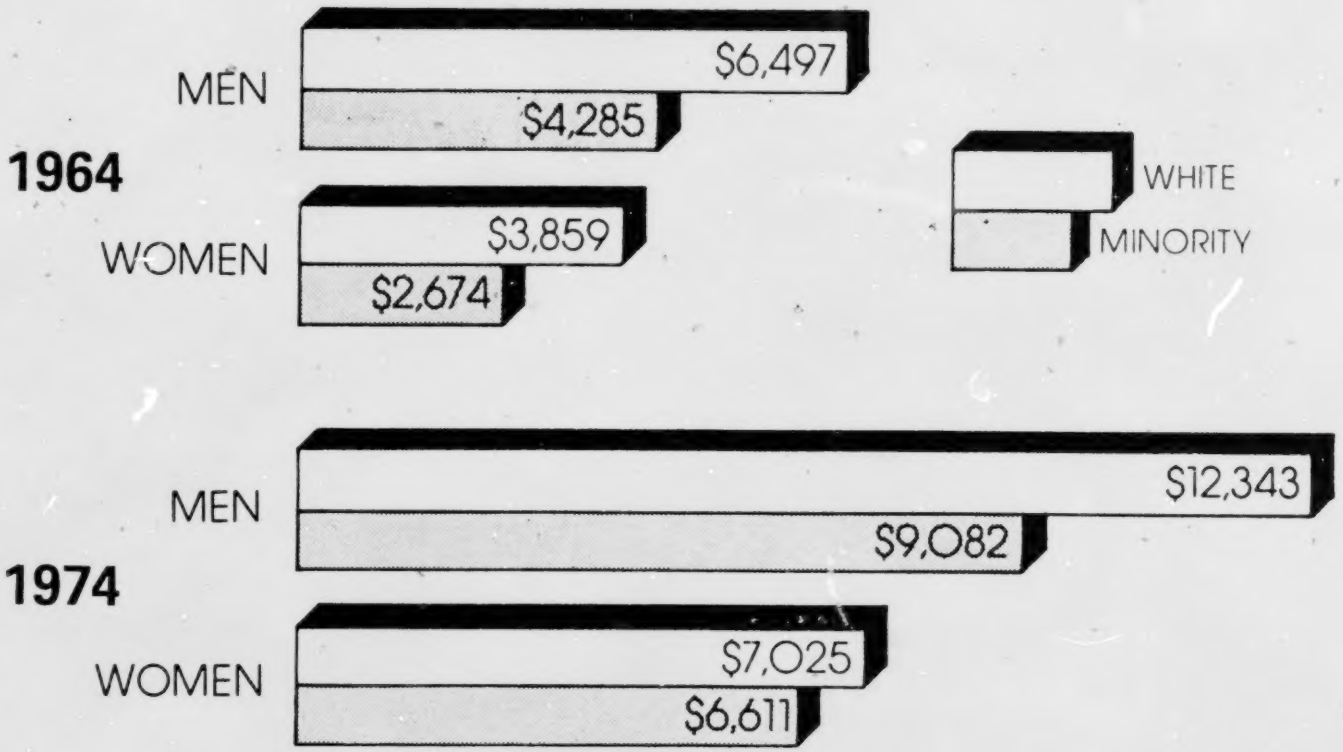
Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, from data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

Women Are Underrepresented as Managers and Skilled Craft Workers



Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, from 1975 annual averages data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

Fully Employed Women Continue To Earn Less Than Fully Employed Men of Either White or Minority* Races



*Includes all races other than white.

Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, from data published by the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

III. A HANDBOOK FOR WORKSHOPS ON SEX EQUALITY*

A workshop on sex equality in education provides a place where counselors, teachers and administrators can begin to understand the serious long-range results of sex role stereotyping which limit not only the educational and career choices of their students but ultimately the students' entire lives. The stereotyping can be exemplified in the myth of Cinderella and her Prince:

> A young woman will only need to work for a little while—until Prince Charming sweeps her off her feet. She will never have to work or want to work again. She and Prince Charming will live happily ever after until they are both 100 years old at which time they will both die on the same day.[1]

That is the myth. The statistical reality is:

- 54 percent of all American women between the ages of 18 and 64 are in the labor force; [2]
- forty percent of the total American work force are women;[3]
- even if a woman is married she can expect to work for an average of 25 years (45 years if she is single); [4]
- even if she has children, she can expect to work. Thirteen million women in the labor force are women with children; [5]
- even with pre-school children, 4.8 million women work; [6]
- one out of ten of all women in the labor force are presently heads of families and one out of five minority women are heads of families; [7]
- the divorce rate is up 109 percent since 1962 and rising; [8]
- fathers by and large contribute less than half the support of children in divided families and enforcement of payment is nearly non-existent; [9]
- the median income of a fully employed woman with a college degree is less than that of a fully employed man with an eighth grade education; [10]
- the longevity rate of women has increased 20.6 years in the last 50 years while the men's rate has increased only 13.8 years; [11]
- men outnumber women in admissions to mental institutions two to one and have twice as many ulcers; [12] and
- more than two thirds of the poor over age 65 are women.[13]

These are pe suasive statistics. Educators should be aware of them because the numbers are so large that we cannot know *which* of our students will *not* be affected.

Because we cannot guarantee the future of any particular student, it is critical to develop a sex fair educational program which, 1) will encourage serious long-range educational and career planning for girls and young women as independent rather than dependent persons, and 2) will alleviate the pressure and stress experienced by boys and young men because of unrealistic stereotyped expectations and demands which contribute to their high rate of mental and physical illness.

Ingrained attitudes and stereotypes, as well as a genuine unawareness of the damage that is being done to the student locked in a traditional mold,

*Excerpts from Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard, A Handbook for Workshops on Sex Equality in Education, pp. 3-4, 12-13. Reprinted with permission.

may not fall away at the drop of a statistic. However, workshops can offer an opportunity to check one's own sex role attitudes and expectations from a different perspective. Workshops provide new information and an opportunity to interact in small and large group activities and discussions on the issues raised by the workshop.

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DOUBLE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITY GIRLS AND WOMEN

"There were 19.8 million married women (husband present) in the labor force in March 1973; the number of unemployed men was 2.5 million. If all the married women stayed home and unemployed men were placed in their jobs, there would be 17.3 million unfilled jobs." [20]

Median Annual Earnings
March 1972

	F	M
Spanish-speaking	$2,647	$ 5,786
Black	5,147	7,301
White	5,998	10,593

SOURCE: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States.* March 1973.[33]

"Among all poor families, more than 2 out of 5 are headed by women; almost 2 out of 3 poor black families are headed by women." [20]

The Problem

The burden of sex bias wrapped in ethnic bias is heavy and real and deserves special consideration.

Whether of Hispanic American, Asian American, Native American, Black or Afro American culture, each total group is burdened with stereotypes. Within each group are special stereotypes concerning the way the women of that group are supposed to act. Counselors who interact with students of ethnic and cultural minorities need information which goes beyond the stereotypes.

Some people believe that women of all groups and perhaps particularly minority group women should stand back and not compete for jobs with men.

Patent discrimination is implicit in the assumption that one group of people (women) should be expected to stand back while another group of people (men) move forward. Educators should be aware that 6.6 million women are heads of households and 29 percent of these are women of minority groups.[21]

In 1971:

- 65 percent of the Puerto Rican families *headed by women* were living in poverty; 54 percent of Black families *headed by women* were living in poverty; and 27 percent of white families *headed by women* were living in poverty.[22]

United States Census Bureau statistics indicate that the minority woman is at the bottom of the income ladder whether one discusses sex membership or minority membership.

Numerically there are more white women who work than there are minority women who work because the total number of adult white women (nearly 35 million) is about eight times greater than the total number of all adult minority women (nearly 4.5 million).[24]

On a percentage basis, a somewhat larger percentage of minority women work than do white women but the gap is closing. In 1940, 37 percent of the minority women and 25 percent of white women were employed.[25]

In 1973, about 49 percent of minority women and 44 percent of white women were employed.[26] Since 1940, the numbers of white women who are returning to work has risen by nearly 24 million and the numbers of minority women workers has increased by more than 2.5 million.[27]

The length and quality of girls' educational experiences may be an important factor in determining their later place on the economic scale.

Presently most Native American girls do not even finish elementary school. The average education level of all Native Americans, and this includes both sexes under Federal supervision, is five school years.[29] The median number of school years completed by Black women in 1970 was 10 years, Hispanic American women 9.4 years and white women 12.1 years.[30]

A counselor of a girl of Hispanic American background may worry about encouraging her to expand her educational and career options

because of a belief that this would be interfering with the girl's close cultural ties to the home.

The reality is that educated or not minority women will work. Forty percent of the women of Hispanic background work outside the home as do 49 percent of Black women and 44 percent of white women.[31]

Recognizing this reality, the question for the counselor and for each young woman then becomes not *whether* she is going to work, but *at what*. The question of "at what" may depend largely on the kind of encouragement girls and young women receive in their educational setting.

Positive Steps

Counselors and other educators can help the minority girl and woman:

- gain understanding of her rights under the law in regard to both race and sex discrimination;
- gain an awareness of the pattern of job placement which limits her in regard to both race and sex; and
- gain an understanding of her need to make long-range educational and career plans if she is not to fall into the dead-end job from which it is hard to escape.

JOBS WOMEN HOLD

Occupation	Total	White	Black	Spanish Heritage
Total employed	28,929,845	25,252,734	3,309,080	989,810
Professional and technical workers	4,549,927	4,110,060	373,713	94,589
	15.7%	16.3%	11.3%	9.6%
Sales workers	2,140,994	2,037,977	84,103	58,990
	7.4%	8.1%	2.5%	6.0%
Clerical and kindred workers	10,104,508	9,308,904	684,310	297,055
	34.9%	36.7%	20.7%	30.0%
*Operatives, except transport equipment	4,014,214	3,421,862	533,160	234,399
	13.9%	13.5%	16.1%	23.7%
Service workers, except household	4,789,362	3,877,059	843,018	183,030
	16.6%	15.3%	25.5%	18.5%
Private household workers	1,113,090	506,896	592,226	40,080
	3.8%	2.0%	17.9%	4.0%

*Workers who operate machines and do similar kinds of work.

SOURCE: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration. *We the American Women*. 1973.

The girl of an ethnic or a cultural minority, like all other girls, needs the life preparation that will enable her to be financially independent. She needs to expand her options so that she can move forward to new goals. She needs support to break through the double discrimination barrier.

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IV. FACTUAL AND SELF-FULFILLING MYTHS*

Warren Farrell

FACTUAL MYTHS

Two of the barriers that prevent men from changing are factual and self-fulfilling myths. Factual myths are merely beliefs that can be disproven by presenting the relevant facts. They usually contain some truth, but fail to hold up when the whole picture is presented. Factual myths are of particular importance because people can use the new information in discussions and soon find themselves supporting the changes that flow from the new information.

Many men express the belief during interviews that *women have at least "come a long way, baby" in the last ten or twenty years.** In fact, this is not true. In 1955 women's full-time year-round median wages were 64 percent of men's while sixteen years later, in 1971, they were only 59.5 percent.[1] The percentage of women attending universities is lower than in the 1920's. In 1870 women were one-third of the college faculty in the United States. In 1970 they comprised one-fourth; in 1972–73, 22.5 percent. As the rank goes up, the percentage of women goes down—only 6.6 percent of all university full professors were women in 1973. The proportion of women graduate students was *less* in 1972–73 than it was in 1930.[2] The percentage receiving M.D. degrees also declined from 10 percent in 1950 to 9.1 percent in 1973.[3] Women have made gains in some areas, mostly in the last year or two, but they have been countered by the little-publicized losses facing all groups whose childhood psychology discourages the self-confidence required for success. Even affirmative action programs, for all the defensive reactions created in men, have resulted in no appreciable gains for women as of 1974; the central method of hiring is still "the buddy *boy* system."

In politics, despite the dramatic gains of certain individuals, the number of women in state legislatures declined from 392 in 1963 to 344 in 1970, and has only risen recently, to 441 in 1972 (still only about 10 percent of the total). The percentage of women in Congress for the past twenty years has fluctuated just above and below 2 percent, dropping from a peak of nineteen in the Eighty-third Congress to sixteen in the Ninety-third.[4] The number in the Senate has decreased from two to zero between 1953 and 1974. The women who do get elected are usually widows. Only four women have served more than a year in the Senate, and they have *all* been widows.[5] Twenty-three of the fifty-seven women who have served in the House have also been widows of congressmen.

* This section includes myths which have been countered in much of the women's liberation literature, but are included here as a result of findings that most men who have been exposed only to the media's interpretation of women's liberation still do not have the information to counter these myths.

* From Warren Farrell, The Liberated Man, pp. 161-174. Copyright c 1974 by Warren Farrell. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

Myths about women's sexual desires have actually represented two opposite views at different points in history. The early Christians, Hebrews, Romans and Arabs considered womens' sexual desires insatiable.[6] Accordingly, Arab women were closely guarded and suffered severe punishment for sexual deviations; adultery warranted their being stoned.[7] In contrast, the Victorians completely denied that "decent" women had sexual desires.[8] Both views of sex, though, reinforce the same conclusion: *There's something wrong with women sexually,* and men are not to blame if women are sexually unsatisfied. "The male is left, sexually speaking, off the hook."[9]

As is the case with most myths about women, men are also the victims. By assuming responsibility for sex, men have been forced to initiate sexual encounters and to develop the fantasy lives which always surround the master plans of the initiator. The resulting erections are confined to the lonely solitude of their pants. By exaggerating his own sexual capacity and suppressing women's he forces women into a longer "warm-up period" to enjoy sex. By that time he is fluctuating between bursting and turning soft. When she is ready for her second and third orgasm the only thing he has left which is hard is his finger or his vibrator.

It is said that *women in women's liberation groups want equal rights but not equal responsibilities.* Many men interviewed have mocked, "I'm willing to give women equal rights, but then don't expect me to give them a seat on the bus." In addition to assuming it is men who give women equal rights, the very statement reveals incredible shallowness about what equal rights entails (to say nothing of the number of men I have ever seen forfeit a seat). Moreover, the statement itself is clearly untrue. Almost every women's liberation group strongly supports the Equal Rights Amendment which may subject them to the draft, and will abolish protection against working overtime or lifting heavy loads. They explicitly refused to support a U.S. Senate rider to the amendment permitting laws protecting women and giving them special privileges.

Employers who are trained in cost-benefit analysis in numerous areas, have not thought of applying it to their women resources until recently. Even now, the myths about women employees are so ingrained that they often block even the start of such investigation. Many employers still feel that *"Women are less dependable employees; they're absent more from the job."* Yet the Department of Labor reports that "the work time lost by persons 17 years of age and over because of illness or injury averaged 5.3 days for women and 5.4 days for men over the same period." The myths about women's menstrual cramps creating excessive absence is just that—a myth. The same male employers never discuss equally valid forces which affect men's productivity—tendencies toward fantasizing about women, luncheon drinking, ulcers and ultimately premature death due to heart attacks, all predominantly male statistics. These employers hurt their company by ignoring women's capabilities and hurt themselves by driving themselves past the point of diminishing returns, to their level of incompetence.

A related myth maintained by employers is that they *should not hire women for career and professional positions since women quit much sooner than men to bring up children or move with their husbands.* Women, of course, do quit for these reasons, which is why women are fighting for reforms such as child-care centers or the sharing of responsibility for child care; and fighting the assumption that they must automatically be the ones to move with their husbands rather than vice versa. (Ironically, it is just the employers who use these reasons not to employ women who are most against these reforms.) Yet despite the pressures on women to quit, the turnover rate of workers is only very slightly more for women than men: 26 per 1,000 women and 22 per 1,000 men. The Department of Labor reports that "labor turnover rates are influenced more by the skill level of the job, the age of the worker, the worker's level of job stability, and the worker's length of service with the employers than by the sex of the worker."[10] Both men and women in boring

low-skilled positions often look for stimulation in a new job. In like manner, women, as well as men, who have landed jobs on higher rungs of the career ladder and who are involved and committed to their jobs are not likely to quit.[11] Many employers are not aware that some companies report a 36 percent dropout rate of male college graduates during their first three years of employment—a figure exclusive of the draft.[12] The Prentice-Hall report concluded that "female employees may be a 'safer' investment than men."[13]

Another "fact" held against women is that *women get their degrees, get married and quit.* Yet 90 percent of the women holding doctorates are working and are very stable in their employment patterns.[14] Still, many employers explain, "We must take it slow on this affirmative action stuff. *Women must have a chance to develop qualifications they do not yet possess.*" Women, though, have the qualifications in almost all fields to a greater extent than they are being hired. In the academic field of psychology, for example, women earn 23 percent of the doctorates nationally. Yet at the University of California at Berkeley not *one* of 42 faculty members is female. At Columbia, the Department of Psychology grants 36 percent of its doctorates to women and hires *none* to teach there.[15] Why is this? Advertising is just one reason. The Department of Psychology at City University of New York advertised in 1970 "prefer male, but will consider either" (imagine, "prefer white, but will consider either"?). Discrimination forces women to teach at junior colleges or community colleges, where they comprise about 40 percent of the faculty.[16] There they are exposed to considerably fewer research and grant opportunities, less pay and much less status. This unequal treatment for equal qualifications ultimately also means they are considered unqualified to compete for posts at major universities with men who received initial teaching posts with more status and research opportunities. In this case the factual myths turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

A series of factual myths militates against women in the professions. For example, it is still occasionally thought (although seldom said) that *women do not have the brains and talents necessary for legal and medical work.* However, women medical students and law students graduate consistently at the very top of their classes.[17] It is more frequently claimed that *women are more apt to drop out either for personal reasons or when the academic going gets rough.* This is also false. For example, the percentage of men and women completing medical school is about the same, 84 percent.[18] In Finland, in fact, where fewer barriers to women exist, the majority of physicians and dentists are women.[19]

Another common myth is that women are more emotional than men. It is true that women are not emotionally constipated; they can get their emotions out of their system. However, we have distorted women's ability to express emotions to add to the "proof" that *women are emotionally less stable, more likely to break down under conditions of stress, and are "not the type whose hand you'd want on the nuclear button."* Men, though, are the ones who break down under conditions of stress more easily than women. During World War Two, almost 70 percent more men than women broke down and became psychiatric casualties as a result of the bombing of London and Kent.[20] In this country, more men than women have been in mental institutions consistently since the 1920's,[21] although women are also driven to mental institutions for problems growing out of their role. The number of men drivers designated as assigned risks is also greater than the number of women by four to one, even though male drivers outnumber women three to two.[22] According to a pamphlet from the Auto Safety Council of the American Medical Association, women are better drivers because they are *less* emotional (meaning emotionally unstable) than men. If rape, murder and other crimes are considered indicators of emotional instability, then the male capacity to express his emotions in a form not harmful to society is clearly placed in question. Compare the rates of

emotional crimes performed by men and women: homicide, more than 5 to 1; assault (excluding rape), more than 7 to 1; disorderly conduct, more than 6 to 1; all crimes (including rape and prostitution), almost 6 to 1.[23]

To document an area in which women are *presently* "better than" or "less likely to commit something" than men is not to conclude that women are *naturally* superior to men in that area. It is only to say that the socialization process to this point has given women this advantage, and that therefore each of these advantages to women is an area of potential *liberation* for men as men's socialization is altered. Once the alteration occurs, if men or women are still found to have deficiencies in relation to the other, society may wish to encourage compensation for these differences rather than reinforcement of them.

When myths about sex roles are answered on a personal level some men will then tranfer to societal reasons for maintaining sex roles. One rationale often offered is that *"each sex having its role" helps maintain a stable society.* This is not true. Countries such as Sweden, Finland and Norway are among the more stable and peaceable countries of the world, while in the Latin American countries, where machismo and "woman's place" permeates society, instability is widespread. Among the Arab countries, Syria, Jordan and Iraq are both highly unstable and highly differentiated in their sex roles. In Lebanon, usually considered the most stable of the Arab countries, sex roles are the most fluid.[24] Even among tribes, the few peaceable ones found by Geoffrey Gorer were the few in which sex roles were not polarized.[25] Since the threat of instability has often served as an excuse to dehumanize society, understanding that freedom from sex-role stereotyping is compatible with stability lays an important basis for human liberation.

SELF-FULFILLING MYTHS

A more difficult type of myth to detect because of the subtlety of its origin and its surface accuracy, the self-fulfilling myth is a statement assumed to be true—such as "John is more independent than Sue"—that is followed by doing everything to make the assumption true—such as giving John every opportunity to be independent. The assumption is a myth (as well as a prophecy) because at the time it is first stated it has no basis in fact; it is based on a mythology of expectations. The major agent for creating the self-fulfilling myth is the interacting process of socialization by parents, peers, the media, and institutions such as schools and churches.

The self-fulfilling myth colors our interpretations of actions by men and women that are essentially alike. Once we have stereotyped women as concerned with the home and family, as scatterbrained, catty and "out to get married," we read this into all their actions.[28] When a man has a picture of his family on his desk it is a reflection of a solid family man. A similar picture on a woman's desk reflects a woman more concerned with her home than her job—a "doting mother at heart." When a man's desk is cluttered it belongs to a busy, overburdened executive; a woman's desk to a disorganized, scatterbrained female. When a man talks about his colleagues, it is constructive criticism or office politics; when a woman does the same she is "catty." When a woman expresses happiness with her marriage it is assumed that she is expressing total fulfillment; for a man it is "extra credit," a nice thing to have *in addition to* his competence at work.

One self-fulfilling myth is that women, by nature, are physically the weaker sex. To create this myth we define physical weakness only in terms of muscles, a definition appropriate to the male value system. This allows us to ignore evidence which might point to women's greater physical strength in terms of resilience and constitutional longevity. For example, women are better able to endure devitalizing conditions such as starvation, fatigue, shock

and illness. They have greater stamina and live longer.[27] They also develop many aspects of physical control better and more quickly. They are quicker to develop control over hand and body muscles,[28] and have fewer speaking, hearing, vision and stuttering problems.[29] Four times as many boys as girls stutter[30]; they stutter more severely and are less likely to outgrow it.[31] Young boys also outnumber young girls 4 to 1 in having vision, hearing and speech disorders.[32]

If physical strength were defined from a genetic perspective, the woman would still have an advantage. The Y chromosome, the distinguishing chromosome which creates a male, makes him vulnerable to over 50 diseases;[33] there is no comparable disadvantage in the X chromosome of the female. The larger size of the X chromosome plus the presence of two X chromosomes in females results in women's cells being about 4 percent greater in chromosomal value than men's. This makes for "a substantially richer, genetic capacity than the male," according to Drs. J. H. Tjio and T. T. Puck, the researchers who discovered the differences in sex chromosome size (1958).[34]

After avoiding alternative definitions of physical weakness and ignoring contrary evidence, we make our myth self-fulfilling by encouraging women to spend their lives *reinforcing their muscular weakness* rather than trying to minimize it. We do this by teaching women never to be aggressive or competitive in physical activities such as baseball, football, track, tree-climbing, weight-lifting, wrestling and boxing. Finally we are able to declare the "obvious" difference between the twelve-year-old boy in our family and the twelve-year-old girl, even if she is taller than he at that age. Girls do their part in enlarging this difference by accepting the social restriction that certain activities, like certain toys, are for boys. They learn their "place," shy away from activities that would develop their strength, and then declare their lack of strength to be "natural." (What is most devastating is not the definition of physical strength as muscular strength, but the willingness of both sexes to reinforce whatever weakness

they consider natural rather than minimize these weaknesses. It is like telling persons with a sugar deficiency that it is natural for them to stop eating sweets!)

We forget that whenever in our own history we have needed women, we have dropped these myths and women have assumed what was otherwise "men's work." During the Civil War, Andrew Sinclair points out, Midwestern men came east to fight and then "women were in the field everywhere, driving the reapers, binding and shucking, and loading grain, until then an unusual sight."[35] When women have been needed by the economy, as during almost every war, they have suddenly done men's work in the factories and in the fields. When they are needed more desperately, as in Israel, they are even used as soldiers.* To create a myth of weak women when that myth suits economic purposes and destroy it when it does not is a highly manipulative use of human potential and aspiration.

Women and men want things the way they are—a perfect example of the self-fulfilling myth. We tell both sexes what they should be and imply they have made a choice when they tell us they want to be exactly what we said they should be. We bombard both sexes with television commercials of women with whiter wash for the satisfaction of role number one (woman as a fulfilled washing machine); for role number two (woman as a fulfilled sex object), the woman is transformed into a seductive tigress to be "had" along with an over-horsepowered convertible sports car and a bill for $5,000. The system of education "for equal opportunity" uses schoolbooks rife with men as astronauts, doctors, lawyers and manual laborers, and women as secretaries, mothers, elementary school teachers and nurses. In newspapers, it is the woman pictured when marriages are announced, since she is supposed to "want" marriage most. In fact, though, Kinsey found that single

* When women are needed by the entire economy, as in the Socialist and Communist countries of Cuba, the Soviet Union and much of Eastern Europe, a philosophy of women's equality accompanies the need. (Which underlies the other and the extent to which the philosophy will outlast the need is yet to be finally demonstrated.)

women were happier than single men, that married women were the least happy of all groups and married men the most happy—and this by their own admission.[36] At the end of this process we declare that these roles are what women want, and ask, "Shouldn't women have the freedom to do whatever they want? Nobody is preventing them from becoming a doctor or anything else."

If we looked beyond our borders to see how cultures influence wants, we could see the fallacy of another self-fulfilling myth, that *the roles of men and women are extensions of the biological differences.* We do not even look to Sweden, where 75 percent of the crane operators are women;[37] to Rumania, where over 40,000 women hold political office; or to Czechoslovakia, where 70 percent of the judges at the district level are women.[38] What women and men "want" is clearly at least as much a function of environment as innate tendencies.

Vivian Gornick, writing for New York's *Village Voice,* describes how this self-fulfilling prophecy permeated her life. She was brought up to think independently, and yet she learned in "100 different ways, in a continuous day-to-day exposure to an *attitude*"[39] that she, as a woman, had a primary role as a wife if she were to be considered successful. The sexualized definition of success eventually leads even the most brilliant woman to consider her intelligence at best a nice vocation and at worst something she should suppress. Gornick calls it a destruction of inner necessity at an early age: "Always the battle was internal, and it was with a kind of paralyzing anxiety at the center of me that drained off my energy and retarded my capacity for intellectual concentration ... It took me a long time to understand, with an understanding that is irrevocable, that we are the victims of culture, not biology."[40] One of the most destructive self-fulfilling myths that both sexes help to perpetuate concerns women's intelligence. Some biologists have contradicted Gornick, suggesting that there *are* some biological differences in women's intelligence as evidenced by the fact that their brains are very slightly smaller than men's.[41] This is true, but what is left out is the fact that there is no correlation between brain

size and intellectual capability.[42] "However," some men persist, "don't men outscore women on intelligence tests, like on abstract reasoning and in areas like that?" Since this is the type of assumption that not only makes the self-fulfilling myth a myth, but is a contributing factor to men's underlying contempt for women, it deserves a well-documented answer.

On the most respected and well-known intelligence test, the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale, women score higher in almost every area and at almost every age. Wechsler concludes "these differences in themselves do not prove anything, but taken together with other evidence, have led this writer to the belief that it may be possible to demonstrate a measurable superiority of women over men so far as general intelligence is concerned."[43] Girls tend to do better in logic as opposed to rote memory, particularly when the content is favorable to neither sex.[44] They read better and earlier and surpass boys in verbal and language skills.[45] Boys, though, comprise three out of four of the retarded readers[46] and are subject to learning disorders three to ten times more frequently.[47] In the area of spatial and mechanical aptitude tests, preschool girls do just as well as boys. It is only after the experiences that boys have with toys and instruments—basically a cultural advantage—that boys of school age begin to move ahead.[48]

There are too many unanswered questions about the influence of environment to conclude that women are more intelligent by nature. There is evidence that even the timing of puberty is influenced by environmental variables such as handling, and exposure to coldness and warmth;[49] that basic physical growth may be impeded by poor psychological conditions, even when nutrition is adequate.[50]

The more sophisticated men I interviewed did not deny women's intelligence, but frequently explained that "I, personally, would feel uncomfortable married to a woman who is more intelligent than I am." On an even more subtle level, both men and women fall prey to undermining women's intelligence. For example, a series of *identical* professional articles were circulated to college women with instructions to evaluate each article. There was no differ-

ence in the articles, just the authors, which were labeled by close-to-identical male or female names, such as John McKay or Joan McKay. After reading the identical articles, *the women ranked the articles with the man's name as superior, whether in traditionally masculine fields or traditionally feminine fields.* The experimenter concluded, "Women seem to think that men are better at everything—including elementary school teaching and dietetics!"[81]

We know environment is a significant influence; it is the one variable that human beings, as opposed to animals, can control. We must therefore ask ourselves whether we want to control it so as to maximize human potential, or instead to create adverse psychological conditions that amount to reinforcing a person's deficiencies with the excuse that they are natural. On the surface one might object to the environmental approach by suggesting that we are imposing values. Exactly the opposite is true. Stereotyping is imposing values. Human liberation means opening options at an early enough age so that the environment is not used to impose certain values on girls and others on boys—except the value of openness. It means changing adult behavior so that children's role models will be different, and adults changing that behavior for their own satisfaction aside from the children.

Men cannot be expected to participate in these changes, though, unless women's liberation is redefined as a two-sex movement which provides enough benefits to men to make change worthwhile to more than the most altruistic, condescending or masochistic men. Since the benefits to men are less obvious because they are not all materialistic and tangible in a society oriented that way, it may help to outline some specific examples.

NOTES

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3. Datagram, *Journal of Medical Education*, February 1972 (figure for 1973 from Association of Medical Colleges).
4. The Division of Legislation and Standards, Women's Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Labor, interviews with Pearl Spindler and Bea Rosenberg, September 28 and October 1, 1973. See also *Congressional Quarterly*, July 10, 1970, p. 1745.
5. Judith Nies, "The Abzug Campaign: A Lesson in Politics," *Ms.*, February 1973, p. 78.
6. See G. Rattray Taylor, *Sex in History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1953).

7. *Patai, op. cit.*, p. 110.
8. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
9. Brenton, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
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11. Caroline Bird, *Born Female* (New York: David McKay and Co., 1968), p. 67.
12. A survey conducted by Prentice-Hall editors of companies' hiring policies of college graduates, reported in Prentice-Hall, "Why Doesn't Business Hire More College-Trained Women?" Report Bulletin 4, Volume XVI, April 15, 1969, p. 296.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Dr. Bernice Sandler, *op. cit.*, pp. 570-571.
15. Sandler, *op. cit.*, p. 568.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See "Why So Few Women Doctors? The U.S. Lags," *The New York Sunday News*, February 15, 1970, pp. 5-8.
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23. *1970 Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, pp. 145-147.
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25. "Man Has No 'Killer' Instinct," in Ashley Montagu, ed., *Man and Aggression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 27-37.
26. See "Most Men Try to Tease Women 'To Death' at Work," Salisbury *Evening Post* (North Carolina), August 3, 1970 for elaboration on the next paragraph.
27. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
28. Sexton, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
29. *Ibid.*
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39. *The Village Voice*, November 27, 1969 (italics hers).
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42. *Ibid.*
43. D. Wechsler, *The Measurement of Adult Intelligence* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1941), cited in Sexton, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
44. Montagu, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
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46. Sexton, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
47. Frances Bentzen, *op. cit.*
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49. Findings by J. W. Everett indicate that certain environmental variables, such as handling, illumination, exposure to cold, and mechanical stimulation of the cervix will influence the timing of puberty in rats and guinea pigs. Maccoby points out this possibility of environmental influence with application to human beings has not been adequately explored. See J. W. E. Everett, "Central Neural Control of Reproductive Functions of the Adrenohyphysis," *Physiological Reviews*, Vol. 44, 1964, pp. 373-431.
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CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES: A BOOKLET FOR PARTICIPANTS TO USE WITH THEIR STUDENTS

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SUGGESTED ASSIGNMENT:

Complete both self-awareness activities in Section I.
Complete at least one activity in Section II.

SECTION I: SELF-STUDY ACTIVITIES FOR TEACHERS

Classroom Activity #1:

*Think about the students you teach. Which ones do you find yourself reacting negatively to--students you don't particularly like, or students to whom you are not attracted? What behaviors lead to your reactions? Of all the behaviors that your students (female and male) exhibit, why do these particularly bother you? List the students and their behaviors here:

Student's Name	Behaviors
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

*Remember that we often react negatively when out expectations are somehow violated. Think, once again, about the students you've listed. Is it possible that you are reacting negatively to a female who violates your ideas of what a male should be (e.g., independent, assertive, active)? Look again at the behaviors of the students that bother you. Are the behaviors more acceptable if you view them simply as violations of your expectations? Write your thoughts here:

Classroom Activity #2:

*Think about the students you teach. Which ones do you find yourself reacting positively to--students you particularly like, or students to whom you are attracted? What behaviors lead to your reactions? What behaviors please you? List the students and their behaviors here:

Student's Name	Behaviors
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

*Remember that we often react positively to things that somehow mesh with our expectations. Think once again, about the students you've listed. Is it possible that you are reacting positively to a female who meets your

expectations for what a female should be (e.g., compliant, quiet, somewhat passive)? Is it possible that you are reacting positively to a male who meets your expectations about what a male should be (e.g., independent, energetic, a bit mischievous)? Look again at the behaviors of the students that please you. Do you think that the students in your classroom may be receiving differential treatment based on whether or not they meet your expectations for females and males? Write your thoughts here:

SECTION II: ACTIVITIES TO HEIGHTEN STUDENT AWARENESS OF SEX-ROLE EXPECTATIONS

Objectives

*To raise student awareness of the power of expectations
*To help students understand the role that other peoples' expectations play in shaping their own behaviors
*To help student understand how other peoples' expectations of them influence the way in which they are perceived
*To raise student awareness of how expectations perpetuate sex-role stereotypes

PART A: SUBJECT AREA ADAPTATIONS FOR DEVELOPING STUDENT AWARENESS OF EXPECTATIONS

Classroom Activity #1: Teaching expectations in a social studies class

*The expectations held by nations, or by important persons representing nations, significantly influence interactions between countries. The power of expectations on an international level can be introduced into a social studies class by studying historical events from an expectations perspective. For example:

"John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State from 1953 to 1958, had a strongly entrenched set of expectations about the Soviet Union, as indicated by his writings. He perceived the U.S.S.R. as an aggressive, warlike enemy bent on destroying the United States. Thus, no matter what course of action the Soviet Union took, Dulles' expectations affected his interpretation of events and his own decisions about responding to them. When the Soviet Union lowered its defense budget, Dulles read it as a ploy to create a false image of de-escalation designed to put the United States off guard. Therefore, he urged our government to raise defense expenditures. When the Soviet Union increased its defense budget, Dulles interpreted the action as directly aimed at the United States. Again, he urged our government to allocate huge sums to the military. Historians have shown that Dulles misinterpreted the Soviet Union's actions consistently. His expectations led the United States into binding alliances with forty-two nations. One alliance, S.E.A.T.O., was directly connected with the United States' long involvement in the Vietnam War."

*Some other examples from history in which expectations played a pivotal role include the events leading to World War I and the events leading to the Cuban missile crisis.

Classroom Activity #2: Teaching expectations in a physical education class

*This activity is a modification of Expectation Poker, designed for use with mature high school and/or college students.
*Step a. Design a set of headbands for your students, each with an expectation regarding athletic ability. For example: "You think I'm very athletically talented, but conceited." "You think I stink at sports."
*Step b. Run the Expectation Poker simulation just as we did during the workshop. Have your students form two circles. Inner circle students have visible headbands. Outer circle students do not. Outer circle students interact with inner circle students on your signal. Each inner circle student initiates interactions by stating that s/he very much wants to go out for the school sports team. Outer circle students respond as if they are school sports counselors who believe the headband message each inner circle student is wearing. The outer circle students cannot say what's on a person's headband, but must let the person know what is expected in subtle ways. After six rotations (six separate, 15-second interactions) the students trade roles. Outer circle headbands are made visible; inner circle headbands are not. Inner circle students now act as sports counselors, and another round of six interactions occurs.
*Step c. Stop the simulation. Do not allow any talking yet. Have students fill out a reaction sheet with questions like:
-What do you think your headband says?
-How did people tell you what was on the band? Verbally and nonverbally?
-Did you find yourself beginning to believe what was on the headband?
-Did any of your behaviors result from the way the "sports counselor" treated you?
*Step d. Have students discuss their reactions in small groups.
*Step e. End the activity with a discussion that includes the entire class. Talk about the meaning of the activity. Be sure to make the point that what we expect of others (parents, siblings, teachers, friends) comes across to them, influencing them and determining their subsequent behaviors.

Classroom Activity #3: Teaching expectations in a sociology class

*Step a. Introduce role theory as a topic to be examined. Role theory holds that roles are defined by the set of expectations that surround them, not by the characteristics of a given individual. This set of expectations defines the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of any individual who occupies a role. For example, the expectations surrounding the role of President might include being strong and intelligent, possessing a sterling moral character, being a model family member. When people assume a role (woman, soldier, man, artist) they can get locked into role expectations, losing their individuality.
*Step b. Present a variety of sociological roles. Have students work in groups to flesh out the expectations that apply to each role.
*Step c. End the activity with a discussion that includes the entire class. Talk about the implications of role theory, especially in terms of the students' own life roles, those they currently hold and those they will probably adopt later.

PART B: SUBJECT AREA ADAPTATIONS FOR PROMOTING STUDENT AWARENESS OF HOW EXPECTATIONS PERPETUATE SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES

Classroom Activity #1: Teaching expectations in an upper-level English class

*Be alert to any literature that is part of your course and that portrays the relationship between society's expectations and the traditional female and male roles in our culture. Have your students discuss such stories from this point of view. Be sure to emphasize the influence of such expectations on the lives of your students as females and as males.

Classroom Activity #2: Teaching expectations to young readers

*Choose a story to read aloud to your class. As you read, change the main character's name so that the person's sex is not clearly identifiable (e.g., Randy, Chris, Robin, Leslie).
*After the story has been finished, take a class vote on whether your students thought the main character was a girl or a boy. Discuss the reasons why some students chose a boy and others chose a girl. Make the point that a main character of either sex is appropriate to the story.

Classroom Activity #3: Teaching expectations to young readers

*Make up stories about females and males who are limited in some way because of what is expected of them in terms of sex roles. Tell the stories out loud. Make sure that such stories have an unhappy ending because of the sex role limitations. Talk about this with your students.
*Variation: Tell the stories you create, but stop at the crisis point. Introduce the Good Expectation Genie, who believes that the main character in the story can break through sex role limitations and work out his or her problem. Then end the story happily, or have your students work out a suitable ending.

Classroom Activity #4: Teaching expectations in a career unit for the intermediate grades

*Ask your students to write down two progessions that they think they might like to pursue as adults.
*Prepare two columns on the chalkboard, one with "Girls" at the top, one with "Boys".
*Ask each student to name his/her choice of careers. Write down the girls' responses in the "Girls" column. Write the boys' responses in the "Boys" column. In all probability, the boys' list will be more varied and longer.
*If appropriate, express gentle disappointment at the discrepancy between the lists. Make a strong point that there are many, many different careers for both females and males.
*Working with your class, see how many careers on both lists can be transferred, and rewrite them under the second column.
*Start a new list called "Everybody can be a _____." Spend three to five minutes brainstorming additional careers.
*Bring in books, magazines, or real persons who have been able to break through stereotypes (e.g., a male nurse). Keep your students' awareness alive!

Classroom Activity #5: Teaching expectation in a career unit for high school and college students

*Have your students sit back and imagine what they will be doing in ten years. Have them relax and let their imaginations wander in response to these questions:
  -Where are you?
  -What are you doing with your life?
  -Do you have a job?
  -What is it?
  -Are you married, single?
  -Are you still in this city?
  -Are the people around you familiar or new?
*Have your students jot down highlights of their thoughts. Tell them their notes are private and will not be graded.
*Have your students form small groups and share as many of their thoughts as they choose to.
*Have your students go inside of themselves again. Tell them to relax and concentrate on these questions:
  -How happy, satisfied were you in your dream life?
  -How much of your dream was based on what your family or our society has taught you to expect about your future?
  -If you could be free of what other people expect of you, would your dream change? In what ways?
*Hold a sharing and discussion session with the entire class. It can include personal sharing, if your students are willing. It can also be a general discussion of how people allow their futures to be influenced by the expectations imposed by society.
*Make the point that females and males tend to make or avoid life choices because of gender, and explore the consequences of this tendency.

Classroom Activity #6; A case study that highlights the long-term effects of sex-role expectations

*Have your students read this case study:

Two friends, who went all the way from grade school to college together, were both excellent students. After graduating with honors in the same field, they went to apply for a job at the same company.

Shirley was given a typing test. Based on the test results, she was slotted into a mundane clerical job complete with a small paycheck.

Stanley took a battery of tests to determine his "executive potential." Based on the test results, he eventually attained a high-level administrative position.

3 Years Later	3 Years Later
Stanley vacations in Bermuda.	Shirley drives to her aunt's house in a nearby state.
Stanley entertains Shirley in his apartment.	Shirley lives with her parents because she can't afford her own apartment.
Stanley is in a position to influence things and people.	Shirley is in the position of a good worker and a nice person who lacks influence.

*Discuss the case study with your students. Ask such questions as:
-How did two equally talented students end up so differently?
-What are your feelings about this?
-How real did the case study seem to you?
-Where was the turning point in the story, the place where Shirley began to lose out?

*Gently push your students into an exploration of the sex role expectations that influenced the story of Shirley and Stanley.

Classroom Activity #7: Jim and Julie[1]

*Read the following story about a set of twins. After the story are some questions about the twins. Please answer the questions on the next page. There are no right or wrong answers.

Jim and Julie are twins. This is story about a day in their lives. Jim and Julie are called to get up for school. One twin gets up right away and gets dressed. The other twin is called two more times and then gets out of bed. One twin makes the bed. Both twins are now in the kitchen. One twin gets the cereal out for breakfast. The twins eat breakfast and one twin helps clear the table. One twin went to brush his or her teeth. One twin missed the bus and rode a bike to school. One twin bought lunch tickets and took some of them to the other twin. It was time for school to start. One twin was wandering around the room until reminded to sit down. The first thing they did was have a spelling test. One twin spelled all the words right. The other twin didn't. Next the class went to music. One twin didn't like music and was slow to line up. When they got back from music, it was time for math. Both twins liked math, but one got better grades. Next, the twins had social studies. They were studying Africa. Their parents had visited several countries and one of the twins had brought an African mask to show the class. Just before lunch, one of the twins noticed that the fish in the aquarium hadn't been fed and fed them. The class was dismissed for lunch and one twin ran down the hall to the cafeteria. After lunch the class went out for recess. One of the twins talked to friends during recess. One twin ripped a coat during recess. After recess the class had a story. One twin was drawing during the story. Next was science. One of the twins had prepared a science experiment to show the class. Then the class had a test. One of the twins hadn't studied and copied the answers from a friend's paper. Reading was next and one twin had an overdue book to return to the library. After reading the twins went to P.E. with their class. One twin was late getting to P.E. It was time to go home now and both twins got on the bus. They both decided to go over to friends' houses to play after school. One twin called home to say where they were. When they got home, one of the twins started the math homework. Before dinner, the twins emptied the garbage, set the table, picked up toys in the family room, and helped with dinner. During dinner, one twin put both elbows on the table. After dinner one twin was supposed to wash dishes while the other dried. One twin had to be called back to the kitchen from watching T.V. After the dishes were done, the twins went out to play. They played baseball with other kids in the neighborhood. One twin hit the ball and broke a window. The twins went and told the people the window would be paid for. The twin who broke the window was afraid of getting in trouble and didn't have money to pay for the window so the twin took the money from their mother's purse. The twins watched T.V. until it was time to go to bed. When they were told to go to bed, one of the twins argued to stay up later.

[1]From "Works in a box: goodies by teachers for teachers," Portland, Oregon.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE TWINS

Directions: Circle the name of the twin you think did the thing mentioned in each question.

1.	Who got up right away?	Jim	Julie
2.	Who made the bed?	Jim	Julie
3.	Who got the cereal out?	Jim	Julie
4.	Who helped clear the table?	Jim	Julie
5.	Who brushed his/her teeth?	Jim	Julie
6.	Who missed the bus?	Jim	Julie
7.	Who bought lunch tickets?	Jim	Julie
8.	Who wandered around the room?	Jim	Julie
9.	Who spelled the words right?	Jim	Julie
10.	Who didn't like music?	Jim	Julie
11.	Who got better math grades?	Jim	Julie
12.	Who brought the African mask?	Jim	Julie
13.	Who fed the fish?	Jim	Julie
14.	Who ran down the hall?	Jim	Julie
15.	Who talked to friends on recess?	Jim	Julie
16.	Who ripped the coat?	Jim	Julie
17.	Who drew during the story?	Jim	Julie
18.	Who had the science experiment?	Jim	Julie
19.	Who copied answers in science?	Jim	Julie
20.	Who had an overdue book?	Jim	Julie
21.	Who was late for P.E.?	Jim	Julie
22.	Who called home?	Jim	Julie
23.	Who started the math homework?	Jim	Julie
24.	Who emptied the garbage?	Jim	Julie
25.	Who set the table?	Jim	Julie
26.	Who picked up toys?	Jim	Julie
27.	Who helped with dinner?	Jim	Julie
28.	Who put his/her elbows on the table?	Jim	Julie
29.	Who was watching T.V.?	Jim	Julie
30.	Who washed the dishes?	Jim	Julie
31.	Who broke the window?	Jim	Julie
32.	Who took the money?	Jim	Julie
33.	Who argued to stay up later?	Jim	Julie

Look again at your answers. Do you see any kind of pattern?

How would you describe Julie? Jim?